The Pentagon's Light-headed Plan to Give Syngman Rhee Atomic Cannon, See Page 2

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The Danger-Points on The Path Toward Peace

Dr. Adenauer's trip to Moscow this week explains the sudden shifting of gears in American foreign policy, as reflected in the President's address to the American Bar Association and the two "tough" speeches echoing it by Vice President Nixon. Washington could not afford to have West Germany believe that the U. S. was prepared to acquiesce in a relaxation of international tension while Germany was still divided. So there was a return to the kind of talk which marked the 1952 campaign. Moscow could have peace only be agreeing to give up East Germany, relinquishing its satellite states, liquidating the international Communist movement, etc.

Washington was alarmed because only a few days before the President spoke in this old Truman-Acheson-Dulles unconditional surrender vein there was disturbing news from Bonn. The Associated Press reported on August 22 that Dr. Adenauer had "quietly put the brake" on rearmament and adopted "a wait-and-see attitude in view of his impending trip to Moscow." The foxy old Chancellor, alarmed by the ability of the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. to meet peaceably at Geneva over Germany's head, had decided to see what kind of a deal might be made in Moscow before going ahead with rearmament. Thus the revived "tough" policy was intended to reassure Dr. Adenauer, and to make Moscow feel that unless it agreed to U. S. terms, especially on Germany, there would be no relaxation of tension.

Too Late for Tough Speeches

Unfortunately for Dr. Adenauer's friends in Washington it is too late for "tough" speeches. Moscow as well as Washington now negotiates "from strength" and the mutual possession of the H bomb has created a stalemate in which the Russians can neither be pushed nor frightened out of Eastern Europe. The German problem, now that Washington no longer has the power to force unification on its own terms, is on the shelf. Molotov at San Francisco and more recently Bulganin in Moscow indicated that the Russians were in no hurry and that the Germans would have to wait. Nobody, including most of the Germans themselves, are enthusiastic about rearming anyway. The Russians since Stalin's death have learned that they can take control of their relations with the outside world away from their enemies by acting with better manners and less suspicion. The more Russia opens her doors to travel in and out, relinquishes her own ancient paranoid fears, and eases her internal regime the more she can make friends and allay tensions. The outside world has shown itself quick to respond. The unexpected warmth of Iowa and Texas to the visiting Soviet farmers here in the U. S. should have, and seems to have, taught Russia a lesson. If she insists on being friendly, no amount of "tough" speeches can keep the rest of the world from being friendly, too.

The tide toward peace can only be reversed now if some untoward, perhaps stage-managed, event like the East German rising frightens the Kremlin away from a more liberal policy, as the assassination of Kirov did Stalin in 1934. The Russian state historically has been subject to just such mercurial changeovers from repression to liberalism and back. The tide could also be reversed by another Korea, which appeared or could be made to appear as evidence of Russian duplicity and aggression. A third possibility is the outbreak of a war which did not involve the great Powers directly but into which they might be drawn because of strategic considerations and vital interests. A resumption of war between Israel and the Arab States would be just such a situation. The geopolitical importance of the area and its oil resources render it highly inflammable. It is this which makes the initiative taken by Mr. Dulles of such importance.

A New War Is Brewing

The Palestine problem, difficult as it is, might have been solved peacefully between Jew and Arab if the great Powers had acted firmly in time, and if they had really wished to prevent the 1948 war. But Britain expected a Jewish rout by the Arabs and the UN did not intervene and impose a truce until it became necessary to save the Arab States from an overwhelming defeat. Perhaps it would have been better if the Jews could have fought the war to a conclusion and forced a viable peace, with viable boundaries for Israel. Having imposed a truce, the Western powers should have finished the job and forced a peace. Their failure to do so has built up internal tensions pushing toward resumption of the war.

The condition of "no peace, no war" with its heavy burden of armament and the constant incursions on her borders have created an intolerable situation for the Israeli. An increasing number feel—and that feeling was reflected by the sharp rise in "activist" sentiment on both the right and left in the last Israeli elections—that the great Powers will not step in and force peace until Israel again as in 1948 hands the Arabs a defeat. They see no sign that Arab leaders will otherwise make peace and permit settlement of the refugee problem. The Dulles speech, which marks a new sharp curve in Eisenhower Administration policy, is a good start in that for the first time pressure is applied for peace and a generous proposal made toward making new homes for the refugees. It is a pity this was not done in 1949. A broad program of reparation and resettlement might already have been launched and peace made between Israel and the Arab States, as peace was made in the 1920's between Greece and Turkey after a large-scale exchange and resettlement of populations.

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Behind That Uproar in Korea Over the Armistice Commission

Joint Chiefs of Staff Want to Give Rhee (Of All People) Atomic Cannon

Last Tuesday the *New York Times* ran an almost hysterical editorial, "Arms Control Fails in Korea." The immediate effect was to help Syngman Rhee's campaign to force the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission out of Korea. Behind this campaign, openly avowed, is Rhee's desire to start the Korean war up again. Linked with this is one of the most light-headed ideas ever espoused by the American military—a plan to give Rhee (of all people) atomic cannon.

The plan originated with Rhee himself last March. The *New York Times* reported March 17 that South Korean officials had appealed to the U. S. for atomic cannon. Nothing more was heard of the proposal at the time. But in the past few weeks at least three newspapermen with good sources of military information have reported that the U. S. military are now actively pushing this proposal and want to get rid of the supervisory commission and the truce agreement. The agreement forbids the entry of new weapons and new forces into the peninsula.

Rhee Wants The War Resumed

What Rhee would do with these cannon if he got the chance is quite clear. As recently as August 9 the chairman of Rhee's Joint Chiefs of Staff and his Army Chief of Staff published an appeal asking the U. S. "to recognize that the truce has ended and to resume the fighting for our unification." (NYT 8/11, p. 3). For months Washington, fearful of Rhee's intentions, has rationed fuel and ammunition supplies for his army so strictly that South Korea could not wage war on its own for more than a few days. Yet it is now seriously proposed to supply with atomic cannon a man who is not trusted even with a normal supply of gasoline!

The three sources of the report that U. S. military are anxious to ship atomic cannon into South Korea are syndicated Washington columnist Robert S. Allen (Aug. 1); Richard Hughes, Tokyo correspondent of the London *Sunday Times* (Aug. 14), and Earl H. Voss, staff writer for the *Washington Star* (Aug. 21).

"The U. S. interest in abolishing NNSC inspectors," Voss reported, "is closely tied to its global military strategy. The Pentagon wants to withdraw a division or so of troops which are still in Korea, to augment its strategic reserve. But before it does this it would like to beef up the Republic of Korea forces with more modern equipment, like guided missiles and atomic weapons. The Koreans already have announced that U. S. Army atomic experts will soon start training ROK officers in atomic warfare tactics."

Hughes reported from Tokyo to the *Sunday Times* of London, "The U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff wish to move into South Korea six atomic cannon, recently delivered to Okinawa, as a counter to the heavy illegal buildup of Communist military strength in North Korea. This action would necessitate a declaration that the United Nations regarded the undertaking in the armistice agreement prohibiting the bringing in of new weapons and forces as null and void. It is understood, however, that a number of the 16 nations which fought in Korea are strongly opposed to voiding the agreement."

Dulles Backs The Pentagon

The State Department seems to have joined hands with the Pentagon to get rid of the truce agreement. At his press conference on August 16 Secretary Dulles said that while he was opposed to "forceful or unilateral measures to terminate an international contract of this sort" he had been "trying to work out something there for some months" by conversations with the other members of the 16-nation UN command and with the Swedes and Swiss. These two, with the Poles and Czechs, staff the supervisory commission. Mr. Dulles thought the commission was "not really serving any useful purpose" and "may be serving an evil purpose."

British Differ Strongly

The British seem to differ strongly with Mr. Dulles on this. "Britain takes the view," wrote the diplomatic correspondent of the authoritative London *Times* on August 13, "that the commission is doing a useful job and should remain at its present strength for the time being; in this she is believed to have the support of Switzerland, if not of Sweden, the other non-Communist member of the commission."

The outcry in South Korea is that the Communist members of the Commission have been acting as spies. The *New York Times* editorial last Tuesday echoed this by saying that they had been "enforcing the armament limitations in South Korea to the point of outright espionage." But when Mr. Dulles was asked directly about the espionage charge at his press conference of August 10, he replied only (we take the words directly from the released transcript), It is not likely that any information that is being gained by these Communist members is of vital significance. The British also seem to take an astringent view of the charge. "Little attention is paid in London," the diplomatic correspondent of the London *Times* reported August 13, "to allegations that espionage activity by the Polish and Czechoslovik members of the commission is jeopardizing South Korean security."

"When China denounces 'acts aimed at sabotaging the armstice agreements' and holds the United Nations command 'responsible for taking effective measures' " the London *Times* account declared, "she has the Foreign Office for once wholeheartedly with her."

The Swiss, Too, Disagree

The State Department has been trying to bypass British objections by persuading the Swiss and Swedes to liquidate the supervisory commission by resigning from it. But the Swiss at least, despite many complaints of Communist obstruction and non-cooperation, have been opposed. Last March 26 the *New York Times* carried a dispatch from Berne reporting that "the highest Swiss political officials" were convinced that the commission was valuable, that its presence had helped to keep the peace, that both sides in Korea had in fact "reduced their forces substantially" and that the Communists had become more cooperative. That this point was not entirely wishful thinking is shown by a dispatch the *New York Times* carried May 12, reporting that the Poles and Czechs had joined the Swiss and Swedes in an unusual unanimous report rejecting Communist charges that the UN command had been bringing combat material into Korea in violation of the truce.

A supervisory commission of four which can be deadlocked by two members, a commission on which the Communists have two "neutrals," is obviously a poor mechanism for impartial surveillance. But the British and Swiss reports indicate that the situation is far from being as black-and-white as Syngman Rhee and the American press generally report it. The commission is some check on resumption of the war, and useful even if it does no more than prevent an atomic conflict in Korea.

One of the difficulties in the situation is that "U. S. correspondents accredited to the United Nations Command are under the control of the U. S. military forces in Korea." The quotation is from a Panmunjom dispatch in the *New York Times* July 6. This reported that Major General Harlan C. Parks, UN representative on the Joint Military Armistice Commission, had forbidden UN correspondents to attend a press conference called by General Lee Sung Cho, the North Korean representative, to answer charges that the Communists had been violating the truce. These charges of an illegal buildup may be true, exaggerated or false. But when the military so clearly control the sources of the news, they had best be read warily.

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Brownell "Promotes Competition" by Giving Standard Oil A 100% Monopoly

Anti-Trust In Action — Under the "Free Enterprise" Republicans

Washington—A "maverick" member of Attorney General Brownell's own 60-man committee to study the anti-trust laws criticized Brownell before the Senate's anti-trust and monopoly subcommittee for giving Standard Oil a 100 percent monopoly of butyl rubber and certifying (as he is required by law to do) that this would "tend to promote competition and prevent monopoly."

The witness was Prof. Walter Adams of Michigan State College (for his earlier dissent on the Brownell commission see the *Weekly* of last April 18). Prof. Adams appeared before Subcommittee Chairman Kilgore (D., W. Va.), sitting as a one-man committee in what is planned to be the first systematic review of Federal anti-trust laws in the past 65 years.

Prof. Adams accused the Administration itself of fostering monopoly, directly by its interpretation of the anti-trust laws and indirectly by channeling its huge procurement program largely to big business. In the former category he took exception especially to the butyl deal and to the way aviation is being regulated.

Shadow of The Old I. G. Farben Cartel

The economist said that Brownell in permitting the government to sell its two butyl rubber plants to Standard Oil of New Jersey had given that company a 100 percent control of that important new synthetic. Kilgore pointed out that butyl "is the only rubber product we have that is completely impervious to atmospheric penetration."

In the investigation of the I. G. Farben cartel by the Truman inquiry when the war began, it became clear that while Standard Oil and I. G. were willing to license patents on the synthetic buna rubber, butyl was to be kept back as a postwar monopoly.

The postwar hurdle was to obtain ownership of the two government owned butyl plants. Under the law, sale of government owned facilities is subject to certification by the Attorney General that the sale will "tend to promote competition and prevent monopoly." Prof. Adams testified that Brownell issued such a certificate for the sale of these two plants to Standard Oil, although this would create a 100 percent monopoly.

Ninety percent of butyl now goes into inner tubes but Standard is pioneering new uses. The butyl story runs remarkably parallel to the old cartel agreement, though I. G. Farben itself was broken up into a number of companies after World War II and the agreement itself was declared void in an anti-trust consent decree. That parallel may some day be spelled out in a new investigation.

Monopoly in Air Transport, Too

Postmaster General Summerfield was the Cabinet target of Prof. Adams' criticism in dealing with aviation. The witness was bitter in his discussion of the Civilian Aeronautics Board for its "death sentence" order against North American Airlines, the largest non-scheduled passenger line in the country. It was ordered to discontinue regular flights by September 1.

Under the Republicans as earlier under the Democrats, the CAB had refused to give North American "regular" flight status and favored American Airlines, TWA and United. Prof. Adams testified that North American was in effect punished for pioneering low fare aircoach service and that the CAB had not licensed a single major new airline in 17 years though air travel had increased 2500 percent during that time.

Prof. Adams said Postmaster General Summerfield has continued the practice of awarding mail contracts to the major airlines though the non-skeds have submitted "fantastically low bids" for carrying the mails.

Object Lesson?

The attorney who was the first to force the State Department to grant passports has himself been denied a passport. Intentionally or not, this may provide an object lesson for other lawyers on the brink of taking passport cases. Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in its precedent making successful suits to win passports for Dr. Otto Nathan and Clark Foreman, was forced to file suit through Harry I. Rand last week against the State Department for refusing to renew his passport.

Boudin had become a legal thorn in the side of the once all powerful passport division. Recently he forced issuance of a passport to Mrs. Jane Foster Zlotowski, an American painter living in Paris, whose passport was picked up when she came home to visit her ailing mother. Boudin is also counsel in the pending Paul Robeson case. Until the Fall of 1954, Boudin had a limited passport permitting him to travel in four countries. When it expired, renewal was denied even after he signed an affidavit that he was not a Communist. The lawyer claims he needs his passport to confer with clients in Western Europe—mostly on pending passport cases.

Subversion by Kinship

Duke Frederick. You, cousin.
Within these 10 days if that thou be'st found
So near our public court as 20 miles,
Thou diest for it.
Rosalind. I do beseech your Grace.
Let me the knowledge of my fault bear with me . . .
Never so much as in a thought unborn
Did I offend your Highness.
Duke Frederick. Thus do all traitors.
If their purgation did exist in words
They are as innocent as grace itself.
Let it suffice thee that I trust thee not.
Rosalind. Yet your mistrust cannot make me
a traitor. Tell me whereon the likelihood depends.
Duke Frederick. Thou art thy daughter's father;
There's enough.
Rosalind . . . Treason is not inherited, my lord.
—*Act I, Scene III, Shakespeare's As You Like It.*

"Table Contents Harvey Book Wonderful"

This cryptic journalese was telegraphed by I. F. Stone to the Monthly Review Press. It refers to the forthcoming book by Harvey O'Connor, entitled **The Empire of Oil.** Unfortunately we haven't space to print here the "wonderful table of contents" so you could judge for yourself. But we can assure you that in **The Empire of Oil,** Harvey O'Connor has, **for the first time,** packed between two covers a comprehensive, thoroughly documented, absorbingly readable account of the oil industry—the biggest cartel in the world.

It is a long book—almost 400 pages—and it will sell for $5 per copy. Until publication date—**but not after**—we are offering the book at the special pre-publication price of $3.50. Combined with a one-year sub to the independent socialist magazine, **Monthly Review,** the saving is even greater—$6 for both the book and the sub (a saving of $2).

Send $3.50, your name and address with the line, "I saw it in Stone's Weekly" and we will send you the book as soon as it comes off the press. Or better yet, send $6 and get both the book, and Monthly Review for a year.

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Democrats Cling to The Cold War; Witch Hunters Grow Melancholy

The dominant liberal wing of the Democratic party continues to be strikingly uninterested in the drift toward peace. Truman at French Lick August 27 managed to give the Democrats credit for any good that Eisenhower had accomplished but said no word about peace or the part played in foreign policy by Democratic Senator George. The Harriman camp exudes a strong odor of Spellmanism in foreign policy. At the annual convention of the Catholic War Veterans in New York August 21, with the Cardinal present as guest of honor, Harriman took over the old "liberationist" slogans of Dulles in criticizing the Geneva conference; Tammany Leader Sapio, Harriman's chief backer for the Presidency, warned against the Russian peace drive. Stevenson at Chicago August 10 came out with what must be the pettiest remark of his whole career, "I for one had never expected an American President to plead with a third string Communist to please believe that the U. S. wanted peace."

The professional anti-Communists are also worried over the drift toward peace. No newspaper mentioned the most interesting remark made at the rally held August 15 in New York to support the Walter investigation of the theatre. William F. Buckley, the author of that book on God and Yale, told the McCarthyite audience, "We may be witnessing one of the final demonstrations of anti-Communist activity arising from deeply felt conviction. In the future, when cordial friendship with the Communists becomes institutionalized, there may be investigations looking into men like Godfrey Schmidt who believe that fraternization with the Communists is an affront to reason and morality." Walter in his own speech went out of his way to attack "the meeting at the summit." Those with vested interests in the witch hunt see international relaxation as a threat to themselves. . . . It is good to be able to report that the Walter inquiry failed to throw the theatre into a panic; actors who pleaded the Fifth were later cheered by audiences and had their contracts renewed.

The tide seems to be running strongly against the witch hunt. The Yarmolinsky study of loyalty case abuses for the Fund for the Republic and the Hutchins report on the recent erosion of civil liberties both got a good press in the past two weeks—unleashing a counter barrage from David Lawrence, John O'Donnell, *Human Events* and George Sokolsky against Hutchins and the Fund. But Sokolsky himself, with a sharp nose for trends, broke ranks and joined in the protests over the Landy case—no doubt because the Hearst press made that a major item of editorial protest during August. Sokolsky's latest (Aug. 31) as we go to press is very sad, "So," he writes, "we are to have an era of good will, but when one hears that a sort of voluntary censorship is coming out of Washington to the effect that nothing unpleasant is to be said about Russia or the Russians, true or false, is one not to gain the impression that we are to be brain-washed?"

Most tantalizing item turned up by the Eastland committee in its "on the spot" investigation of the late Harry D. White at his summer home in New Hampshire was a piece of Russian music, a song headed "Fasha, Pasha, Yasha." If the indefatigable investigators do not let themselves get discouraged too easily they may yet dig up his favorite recipe for kasha.

While the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. seem to be recovering somewhat from their own respective versions of witch mania, Communist China seems to have a bad case of the disease. A well known Marxist writer, Hu Feng, who wrote letters to the Peking People's Daily criticizing the Communist regime for "suffocating the life of realism" in Chinese literature was expelled from two leading organizations of writers and artists for "subversive activities" and then was ordered arrested as a counter-revolutionary and spy for Chiang Kai-shek. We wonder whether anyone will have the nerve to point out that spies do not usually call attention to themselves by publishing letters which criticize the regime on which they are supposed to be spying. The Hu Feng affair is a reminder that witch mania in its various guise is a universal phenomena.

Last Einstein Story

Last Einstein story being told in and around Princeton: The great physicist was questioned by an FBI man about a young scientist.

"Is he loyal?" Einstein was asked by the FBI man.

"Oh yes," Einstein replied, "As loyal as an intelligent man can be."

Why Ike May Run Again

An interesting glimpse of White House thinking was provided in a Society Page interview with Eisenhower's assistant, Sherman Adams, published by the Washington Sunday Star, August 28. Adams said there was no question that the President would be only too glad to relinquish his job if he could. He "shoved a clipping from France's Le Monde across the highly polished surface of his desk. Praising the peaceful impact of Mr. Eisenhower's dignity and honesty on the Geneva Conference, it ended, 'In the coming years he can play a leading role in reconciling the two cold war camps.' 'Maybe that's the answer to the question' [of whether Ike will run again], Adams said."

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